585 The union of the husband and wife is pronounced by the chief who places in the mouth of each a large piece of fish. (1)

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1. It has already been suggested (Kunike, "Der Fisch als Fruchtbarkeitssymbol bei den Waldindianern Südamerikas, Anthropos, VII 1912, p. 206-229) that the fish could be a sexual symbol among the South American Indians. Tastevin has vigorously criticized this hypothesis (Le poisson symbole de Fécondité ou de Fertilité chez les Indiens de l'Amérique du Sud, id., IX, 1914, p. 405-417). However, the Nambikwara ritual of marriage seems to confirm the first theory. Moreover, fish is directly treated as the symbol of sexual relations in the legend where Maire-Pochy makes a girl pregnant by [110] making her eat the fish which he himself had fished. As the origin of this Tupi story is certainly Andean (Kunike, loc.cit.; Métraux, p. 12-13; Ehrenreich, Ueber die Verbreitung und Wanderung der Mythen bei den Naturvölkern Südamerikas, Congrès international des Américanistes, Stuttgart, 1904, p. 663) we have there a supplementary piece of information concerning the affinity of the Nambikwara with the cultures of the North and West.

881 [110] There is no puberty ceremony for the boys. This is replaced by a ritual of initiation which takes place toward the ninth or tenth year, apparently. It is composed of two essential operations, [553 the giving of a name, and the piercing of the lip and of the nasal ● 304] septum to place some wood ornaments there. The first operation is done directly by the chief, the second by a companion whom he designates to this effect:

50. uetnoãdige iochãdige uilikade uelikãdelikinere nukeaiore judotige iurosenie nikama iurojotige (b1)
When the boy is grown the chief, the chief gives him a name. A companion pierces his lip to put in the ornament. He [the chief] orders the hole [for the ornament] to be made.

* * * * *

[End Plate III]

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1. Female type of group c (note the little monkey Cebus sp. on her head, cf. p. 73). 2. Male types of group a2.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

tainship is not hereditary; the chief, when old or sick, designates his successor from the ablest men of the group. The chief's authority is slight; it depends wholly on the good will of the family heads.

Relations between neighboring bands are inspired both by fear and by the desire to exchange goods. Warfare, therefore, is closely connected with barter. Groups not acquainted with each other use ritual speech when they meet.

Before starting a war expedition, a divinatory rite is performed with special songs and dances. An arrow is hidden by the shaman, the outcome of the expedition being pressaged by its appearance the following day.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—After the delivery of a child, the placenta is buried in the bush and both parents are subjected to rigid prohibitions concerning food, the use of ornaments, and social contacts.

Puberty.—The initiation rite for young men consists of piercing their lips and nose and giving them their adult personal name. At her first menstruation, a girl is isolated for several months in a special shelter outside the village, where she is given ritual food by her mother. At the end of the rite, she takes a long bath in the river; this also constitutes the first step of the marriage ceremony.

Both cross-cousin and avuncular marriages (see p. 367), are often planned by parents for their infant children. Marriage is celebrated by festivals, banquets, and dances. The union is pronounced by the chief. Fish and fishing are important both before and during the ceremony.

Separation is frequent, the chief cause being that the man seeks a younger and prettier woman. There is no social sanction of adultery, except that the seducer is advised by his companion to go away for a while so as to avoid the husband's revenge. A murderer also flees vengeance.

Death.—Some groups of *Nambicuara* bury their dead in a circular pit, the corpse being placed in a crouching position. Others leave the corpse to decompose in an elongated ditch and later wash the bones in the river, put them in a basket, and bury them in the village, which is then abandoned. Weapons, implements, adornments, and other property of the deceased are destroyed, but his garden—if he owned one—is abandoned only for a few months. Later anybody may cultivate it.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Most *Nambicuara* groups are completely ignorant of drawing, although some groups decorate calabashes with dots and straight and sinuous lines. These are conventionalized reproductions of realistic designs found among other groups.

ORNAMENTATION

301 The Eastern Nambicuara also make a wide
306 assortment of ornaments from tucum nuts, shell, teeth, and bamboo. From the shell of the tucum nut they make black washers which are strung for necklaces or ear ornaments. The irregular-shaped washers are first ground down to an almost paper-like thinness on a piece of sandstone. They are then strung tightly on a string and the maker begins to rub them against a stone in order to make them circular. He continues rubbing until the washers are no more than a quarter of an inch in diameter, for the smaller the washer the more highly the necklace is valued, as this process takes many weeks.

301 The ear lobes of both men and women are per-
● 304 forated so that tucum shell washers, beads on a string, and triangular pieces of shell can be suspended from them.

The septum of the nose and the upper lips of men are perforated. Through the hole in the septum they force a slender piece of bamboo about 2 inches in length. These adornments give a peculiar expression to the face, particularly when the man is speaking. Julio was especially proud of these ornaments and claimed that white men were just like women because they did not wear them. On special occasions a blue macaw feather about 10 inches long with a bunch of red feathers near the lower end is worn in the nose. Only shamans wear a hat made from jaguar skin.

[292 E 756]

301 The most popular necklace is made from tucum washers and is worn by men, women, and children. Short lengths of bamboo, monkey teeth, jaguar teeth and claws are also used for making necklaces for men. If very long, any necklace can be worn over one shoulder and under the arm. A special type of necklace for men is made by suspending black mutúm feathers from a string alternating with lengths of bamboo. Generally the feathers also alternate, some being long and some short. A rare but highly valued necklace is made from the shiny black horns of a large beetle.

Arm bands about an inch in width made of woven cotton are worn above the biceps by both men and women. From these, men suspend tassels of buritĺ fiber. This fiber is also worn around the wrists and ankles. Wrist bands are also made for women from the tail of the armadillo.

[p. 95(B)]

844 is buried in the camp. The child is bathed, and tiny washers made of tucum nut hull are placed [304] on its ear lobes. The washer or ring is cut on an angle so that the two points eventually press through the lobe creating a hole. As the child grows, new washers are added. After a few weeks [551] the child is given a beaded necklace, but it is not named, being known only as the child of so-and-so until puberty, when it receives a name. The Waklítisu appear to have no avoidances following the birth of a child, although the Kitánrhu are [845] said to practice a modified form of couvade. Twins are accepted with satisfaction. Illegitimate [848] children are likewise accepted and are cared for by the girl's parents until she marries. No stigma appears to be attached to an unmarried mother; however, this attitude may be a recent development. [845] Crippled or malformed babies are not [847] killed, but usually die shortly after birth.

Children are nursed until they are 2 or 3 years 853 old or until another child is born. Women in the band assist one another in nursing and taking care of the infants. If a woman should have two small infants, another woman who has lost her 854 child will nurse one of them. Small children are carried on the hip of the mother, sitting on a strap which passes over the opposite shoulder of the mother. This strap which is made from embira bark or woven cotton is about 4 inches in width. Women evidently are accustomed to carrying heavy loads, for on many occasions the tiny women were observed carrying not only their child but also a huge burden basket full of firewood. When the child gets a few teeth it begins to chew on a piece of broiled meat. One morning while Kaoro and I were debating what to do with a rat which we had caught in a box trap the night before, neither of us having the courage to put our hand in the box, one of the missionaries suggested we give it to the Nambicuara. Kaoro then carried the box over to Julio's camp and gave 853 it to one of his wives. Without any hesitation the woman put her hand in the box, pulled out 252 the rat, banged its head on the box, and threw it on the coals of her fire. After the hair had been partially singed off she pulled it out, cut off its tail with her thumb nail, and gave it to her cowife's baby, who began sucking on it as if it had been a piece of candy. Then with her thumb

[p. 103 (a)]

853 252 nail she opened the rat and threw the viscera and the rat on the coals. Within 15 minutes that rat was eaten, entrails and all, while Kaoro and I looked on in a state of horrified fascination. [862] Children thus begin by eating broiled meat and fish; pieces of sour, gritty manioc cake are given to them at a more advanced age.

PUBERTY

881 When a boy reaches the age of 14 or 15 he has his upper lip and the septum of his nose pierced [304] with a sharpened fibula of a monkey ("macaco-prego"). One man holds the boy's arms, another his head, while an older male relative performs the piercing. Small plugs of bamboo are then placed in the holes. The following night the shaman leads the band in singing and dancing. Food is prepared in large quantities and offerings are made to the ghosts who are believed to be present at the ceremony. [553] The boy is now given a name which he will keep throughout his life. If the boy's father is dead he will use his father's name. If the father is alive he will use the name of some dead member in his grandfather's generation. In this way names are passed from one generation to another. An important part of the boy's puberty ceremony is the ritual beating administered by the old men of the band. He is now permitted to take part in the singing and can be present when the sacred flutes are played in the flute hut. Although this creates an attitude of obedience to the older men, he still continues to be abusive toward the women of the band. His unmarried female cross cousins now begin to notice him and openly show their desire to go hunting with him.

The puberty ceremony for girls is much more elaborate. After a girl has her first menses her father builds a small hut in the center of the camp, in which the girl is secluded. She must remain in this hut day and night and is attended by her female relatives. [202] The chief then calls all members of the band together, even sending messengers to distant hunting parties. When the band is united the chief organizes a hunt in which all the men take part, and they must remain away from the camp until the moon is full. [251] While on the hunt they accumulate a great quantity of smoked meat. When the moon is full, the men send a messenger to the camp to whom the women give some of the

5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Abstract.

Little has hitherto been known of the Nhambiquára who inhabit the valley of the Juruena and are spread thence to the rivers Sararé and Galéra, affluents of the Guaporé. In 1909, an official Brazilian explorer, Colonel Rondon, during his journey in the interior of Matto Grosso, was able to enter into friendly relations with them, collecting ethnological objects, and gathering information of their life, geographical distribution and customs, with those also of the Parecí.

The Parecí give the names Uáikoákorê and Ouihanierê to the Nhambiquára, thus dividing them into two groups. Individuals of the latter group have darker skins and are more warlike. Colonel Rondon appears to have cleared up the meaning of the name Kabixí, which has been a cause of confusion, as often happens with collective names like Bugre, Tapuya, Guaycurú and others. The dwellers in Villa Bella (Matto Grosso) were accustomed to call Kabixí those Indians whom the Parecí called Uáikoákorê, and who, as now stated, are Nhambiquára. This name of Uáikoákorê is given by the Parecí of the sub-tribes Kazinití and Uaimaré of the rivers Arinos, Sacuriú-iná, Tahura-iná and Timalatiá to their kindred of the Kozárini group who inhabit the upper parts of the Rio Verde, the Juba, Cabaçal and Jauxú. The term Kabixí is derogatory, implying an inferior condition.

The Nhambiquára are usually of medium height; they have large teeth, the abdomen rather prominent, muscular thighs, slender legs and well made feet. They perforate the nostrils, the nasal septum and the ear-lobes. Through the holes made in the nose they pass small pieces of wood, and from the ear lobes they hang ornaments made of small beads of coconut. They wear armlets, bracelets, leg ornaments and bead collars made from the fruit of the mucúba. They live by the chase, but also plant maize, yams, potatoes, mandioc, and beans. They smoke leaves similar to Brazilian tobacco and do not use hammocks but sleep on the ground, like the Campa-atzíri and the Amuésa of the Gran Pajonal.

In the collection made by Colonel Rondon for the National Museum at Rio de Janeiro there is an alimentary paste similar to the Kêtêhê of the Parecí, made from pounded mandioc. The native *breu* or bitumen is used with string to fasten arrow points to their shafts. It appears to be a mixture of Oanini and wax, and is preserved in leaves of the Malá-malá palm. It melts at a very low temperature.

To fell trees a stone axe, fixed in a wooden handle by means of cord and bitumen, is used. The Indian who succeeds in felling certain trees with this primitive instrument receives as reward an arara or mutúm feather for a nose-ornament. Such a decoration is usually reserved for warlike prowess among the natives of Brazil. The bows are large, strong, of red wood and well-polished, with semi-cylindrical transversal section. Those in the Rondon collection vary from 1m. 80 to 2m. 38 in length. To draw an arrow of 50cm. between the larger bow and its string of tucum a traction force of 60 kilos. is necessary, as verified by the dynamometer. There are five types of arrows. They have two musical instruments, one, a double flute made of two pieces of bamboo tied together, the other, two concave disks of calabash, about 8 cm. in diameter, united at the edges by a strip of Malá-malá and breu. The upper disk has three orifices.

7: Roquette-Pinto--2A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

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Nambicuara Indian

Uaidnirida--Indian of the Juina River

Serra do Norte Indian

Nambicuara Indian

291 around the ankles. The Tagnani and Tawite wear similar bands on
184 their upper and lower limbs; theirs, however, are made of cotton, which is used occasionally by the Cocozu to manufacture articles of this sort. [Plates p. 242.] Among the Tagnani and Tawite [239], men often cover their sexual organs with the ends of the straw cord that encloses their hips. But this is not the rule. The Uaintaçu rarely wear any of those bands; and among all groups, a few of the Indians always go completely naked.

[Fig. 29]

291 The women and pubescent girls, young and old, single and married, always wear the hip cord.

[243] Some pregnant women I saw did not wear it; I believe they had freed their abdomen from this strong pressure in order to breathe more easily, or perhaps for fear that the girdle should have a pernicious influence on the foetus.

302 They always wear their hair long, hanging over the shoulders; they clip it irregularly on the forehead with a bivalve shell or a cane splinter. They liked to have us cut it with scissors.

291 They are extremely fond of the hats we wear; it seemed to me that the heat of the sun on their head distressed them greatly. They will give almost as much for a hat as for an iron axe.

301 One of the jaguar-hide helmets which are now in the [National] Museum was obtained in the village of Urutau in exchange for an old and well-worn hat of ours, in spite of the fact that those helmets are highly prized [by the Indians].

They do not normally wear hide or feather head ornaments. When they are in a festive mood, they cover themselves with crowns [diadems] that will be described later, or with jaguar-hide helmets. It is likely that they also use such ornaments for certain ceremonies, but we ascertained nothing about this.

[Fig. 32]

[240] From their ears they hang triangles of mother-of-pearl, [304] which they extract from river shells; when the hole tears, splitting the lobe in two, they do not hesitate to bore another one.

[562] The men are much vainer than the women; they adorn themselves with feather diadems, earrings, pendants and necklaces, while the women limit themselves to a few of these.

304 Only the men have pierced upper lips and nasal septa; the women, never.

Children still at the breast did not have their lip or septum perforated; but those whose first milk molars had appeared already had both areas pierced. Hence I believe that this operation is not performed until boys have reached the age of two.

301 Not until they are five or seven do they begin to insert through the lip and nose perforations some thin and distinctive plugs nearly always made of reed stems.

Their use is widespread in the Serra do Norte; I have seldom seen Indian men without those plugs.

[Fig. 35]

The lip plug rests between the median upper incisors and protrudes aggressively upward; the septum plug is thicker and shorter. Both are cut to the appropriate size by means of fire.

[241] If the plugs fall out, the wearer immediately retrieves them and sets them back in the perforations; on those few occasions when [the Indians] removed them to show us how they were fastened, they promptly replaced them as if ashamed to be deprived of their ornaments.

As a rule they wear both simultaneously. Some Indians prefer to the modest nose plug another adorned with a macaw or curassow feather.

[304] Contrary to what used to be thought, these ornaments do not seem to constitute marks of distinction or signs of hierarchy.

We saw youths of eighteen adorned with such plumes; none of the Indians accorded them the least importance.

When they wear these feathers, they forego the lip plug.

Their predilection for black beads is remarkable; they make them from the shells of small palm nuts to form multi-looped necklaces, and when we offered them an assortment of glass beads they chose the black ones at first. Yet they ended up choosing all of them... They are insatiable.

Nevertheless, their ornaments are predominantly black in color. Black bracelets; rings made with black palm nuts which they used to wear as ear pendants and which they carry now on their fingers to